241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

272
178

/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

[556]

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

592
476
[233]
[464]
[241]
000

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bulᶜwān, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyād'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees
[233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195
[556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, live-
233 stock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAisi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
511 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the
•556 people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/47 cont./

511 breasts by clasps of silver, bronze, or thorn. The men envelop
556 themselves in a shorter piece of wool, unless they wear -- in our
291 day this is the most frequent case -- a long shirt and breeches of cotton goods. A full black cloak, "akhnif," provided with a hood and decorated on the back with a curious red motif, completes the costume of the montagnard.

32 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is almost entirely devoid of
184 local industries; by contrast, in the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa there are several centers of activity, whose origin and traditions are still little known and would doubtless merit being studied.
325 Artisans /48/ there know how to smelt the iron and copper ores
326 that are found in metallic deposits of minor importance and
184 whose presence has been enough to perpetuate the reputation of mineral wealth of the South. Master workmen, nearly all descendants of black slaves, manufacture guns and daggers inlaid
[306] with silver. Others, Jews or Mussulmans, preserve the tradition
[178] of jewelry work of bronze, silver, and gold. There is not any doubt, to be sure, that these small industrial centers have already been hit by decline.

439 For twenty years the development of commerce in the whole
177 of the Empire and the influx of commodities and manufactured goods from the Occident have been making their effects felt as far as the depths of the high valleys. To buy these novelties, the
[432] montagnard sells in the souks /sooks/ of the Dir his harvests of
[464] walnuts and almonds and part of his flock, and he sends his sons to work in the towns of the Gharb /Rharb/, to Algeria, and to France.

556 In the plains the distance between rich and poor increases
184 still more rapidly. The former own the gardens; the others cul-
511 tivate them. Irrigated fields give cereals, vegetables, and fruits in abundance. Olive and argan oil constitute another kind of wealth, which is transported in goatskins as far as the towns of the North. The greater proximity of the markets facilitates the introduction of foreign products in such a way that the material existence of a notable of the Sous plain tends to become similar to that of the other provinces where the Makhzen /makhzan/ has

/48 cont./

•556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
184 an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
796 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
796 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
798 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/220 cont./

632
*634

/footnote 1 continued/ this how difficult it can be at certain stages of the constitution of small Berbère /Berber/ societies to distinguish the subfraction from the fraction, or the fraction from the tribe.

*634 II. The council of the canton. -- The "taqbilt" council forms the essential institution of the little autonomous republic of a Berbère /Berber/ canton. While the "jema't" of the [632] "mouda'" [623] is, in appearance at least, democratic, since it brings together all the household heads, the representation of the families in the bosom of the council of the "taqbilt" preserves a more marked oligarchic character. Each "ikhs" is in fact represented by a single one of its members. Often, even, each hamlet [613] [621] may delegate only a single person designated by a turn, which changes every year, /221/ among the heads of the various families of the place. [556] Usually it is considered that in order to become a member of the council of the canton, which is also sometimes called the "diwan," it is advisable to be rich in order to be able, in turn, to receive the tribal council fittingly in one's house; it is good, moreover, to be clever at government and "to know how to speak in the assemblies" (1).

1. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/ p. 6.

Sometimes tradition requires the representative of a family to speak in the name of a certain number of households -- ten in the south of the Haha, twenty among the Ida Ou Tanan (Aït Ou'Azzoun).

The members of the "diwan" or canton council are most often called, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, "the Aït Arba'in" -- the forty. It is not without interest to note that this term "Aït Arba'in" designates in almost all Berbère /Berber/ Morocco,

609 /245 cont./

574

[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-

[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.

*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the

[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of

609 inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for

57 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of

•556 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that

563 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the

[672] latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which

[464] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.

609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the

641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the

563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-

166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or

*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of

563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia: canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, [434] that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that [681] they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a [652] matter of a quarrel or theft.

[556] [471] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tiout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

175 /274 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The al-
•556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ame-
661 liorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

*634 /274 cont./
•556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[558] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
571 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of th origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,